



Crowds gathered for Lee Kuan Yew's speech at a mass rally after the 1959 Legislative Assembly General Election (© Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts).

Their dedication to the cause of an independent democratic non-communist socialist Malaya gives them the drive that will make the machinery of government work efficiently on your behalf. My party has asked me to lead the government and we shall take office formally on Friday.

But all the planning and effort on the part of your government will not produce the desired results unless you, the people, support and sustain the work of your government. We shall do our duty to the people. The people must do their duty to themselves and their fellow citizens.

There may be times when, in the interests of the whole community, we may have to take steps which are unpopular with a section of the community. On such occasions, remember that the principle which guides our actions is that the paramount interest of the whole community must prevail.

Lastly, let it not be forgotten that we have been elected to govern on behalf of all the people of Singapore. The paramount interest is that of the people as a whole. There may be times when, in the interests of the whole community, we may have to take steps which are unpopular with a section of the community. On such occasions, remember that the principle which guides our actions is that the paramount interest of the whole community must prevail.

Let us work together as a more united people towards a brighter and better future. May the next five years be happy, peaceful and prosperous years for all of us. ■

THE PAP TAKES OFFICE

Broadcast over Radio Singapore (5 June 1959)

At 4:00 p.m. this afternoon, my ministers and I formally took office. The control of Singapore's internal affairs was formally transferred to the elected representatives of the people.

Each and every one of my ministers is acutely conscious of the heavy responsibility and great burdens with which we have been entrusted. We have taken office because we believe that the People's Action Party (PAP) is the party most capable of discharging the duties and responsibilities of the government. We are the best organised and the most coherent political leadership in Singapore. Every one of my ministers has gone through years of political struggle before we reached this position. If we were weak or insincere, we would not have survived the stresses and strains of the political struggle that we underwent. The business of a government is to govern and to make firm decisions so that there shall be certainty and stability in the affairs of our people. We shall do our best to give you, not only a firm and stable government, but one which will carry with it the support and cooperation of the majority of the people.

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During the elections, our opponents tried to frighten you against a PAP Government. They spread vicious rumours that the polling day would be accompanied by unrest and civil commotion. That there would be a curfew; that buses would stop running. None of these things have happened. The events of the last six days have proved the falseness of these lies. The people of Singapore went to the polls in a peaceful and orderly manner and voted in the government they wanted—a PAP Government. They celebrated their victory in the constituencies and on the *padang* in a joyous, sometimes boisterous but always orderly and peaceful manner.

In the same way, their other predictions about the terrible consequences of a PAP victory will be proved equally false.

In the next five years, there may come times when we shall face difficulties and tribulations. The tasks ahead of us are not easy to accomplish. We have never pretended they would be easy. But we shall not deviate from our declared objective of bringing about a social revolution by peaceful means. We appeal to all of you to come forward and contribute your share in bringing about this social revolution, so that the change can come about in as peaceful and orderly a manner as



The PAP takes office (© Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts).

the changeover from the Rendel Constitution to the new self-governing State of Singapore.

With your help and cooperation, we shall discharge our duties to you in bringing about a happier and better Singapore. ■

THE PAP TEAM

**Film Script on Singapore's Ministers Read Out by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew
(14 June 1959)**

For the next five years, my ministers and I are responsible for the government. Your happiness and well-being are our responsibility. We were elected by the majority of the people to look after the affairs of all our people.

Unlike previous governments, our task is not simply to provide a firm and stable government. Ours is the more difficult task of governing, wisely and justly, with the support of the people. It is a twofold task, for not only must we make a success of the government, but we must also let you know what we are doing in order to carry you with us.



Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew touring the Southern Islands during the period of racial tension (© Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts).

fire, but people who thought that politicking would pay dividends. So they created the atmosphere which allowed the explosion to take place.

You know, there is nothing which we cannot resolve in Singapore, provided the economy is forging ahead. So long as the factories are opening, so long as there is confidence, so long as work is being done, money is being made, taxes are being collected, you can think of all your rights and we can satisfy them. You have rights to a job, you have rights to a home, you have rights to have your children in schools,

and you have a right to live. Have conflicts in the community, doubts begin to sink in men's minds as to whether it is wise really to forge ahead. And we stop to have more factories, we stop to have more business, and lose money. Finally, you end up just like the Indonesians talking hot air all the time. Nobody's needs can be satisfied. You can talk of all the special rights in the world and all the things that you like, but nothing can be done besides more sweet and soft words.

That is the choice before us as far as we are concerned, until we make up our minds to smack down people who talk evil things which will lead us to disaster.

Make your minds to be friends with your neighbours. Ignore the stranger in your midst who is out to make mischief and that's the way it lies to recovery and prosperity. Your future, my future is in your hands and mine. Just catch hold of the trouble-maker, close his mouth up and shut him down.

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And I hope that this little basket in Pulau Bukom just keeps all the mangoes good and throws out any bad ones that try to come in. Finally, thank you very much. ■

GIVING MALAY COMMUNITIES HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

Speech at Dinner Given by the Goodwill Committee of Queenstown (15 August 1964)

Here, in Queenstown, where about 10% of the flat-dwellers are Malays, there were no disturbances. What is the difference between the people of Queenstown and Geylang Serai? The outlook to life. If we can give to Geylang what we are succeeding in giving to Queenstown—hope for the future for themselves, a new outlook, a new breadth of vision—then I think a lot of all this communal mumbo-jumbo can be dispelled. Finally, we've got to make up our minds whether we want to make Malaysia succeed, or we want to let it drift by and collapse. Split up by default. We spend two-and-a-half years thinking about it, calculating it, working out all the terms and conditions. There was nothing else that we could have done which was as right as Malaysia.

You know, if you go back right to 1961 and work all the steps backwards, it is still correct. This is still the way which would give us the best chance to survive. Any other way is very hazardous. If tomorrow, we say scrap Malaysia, break it up, all right, it can be done. No trouble. Have you solved your problems, our problems, with Indonesia? Are they going to stop shooting? Are they going to give up their ambitions to absorb us?

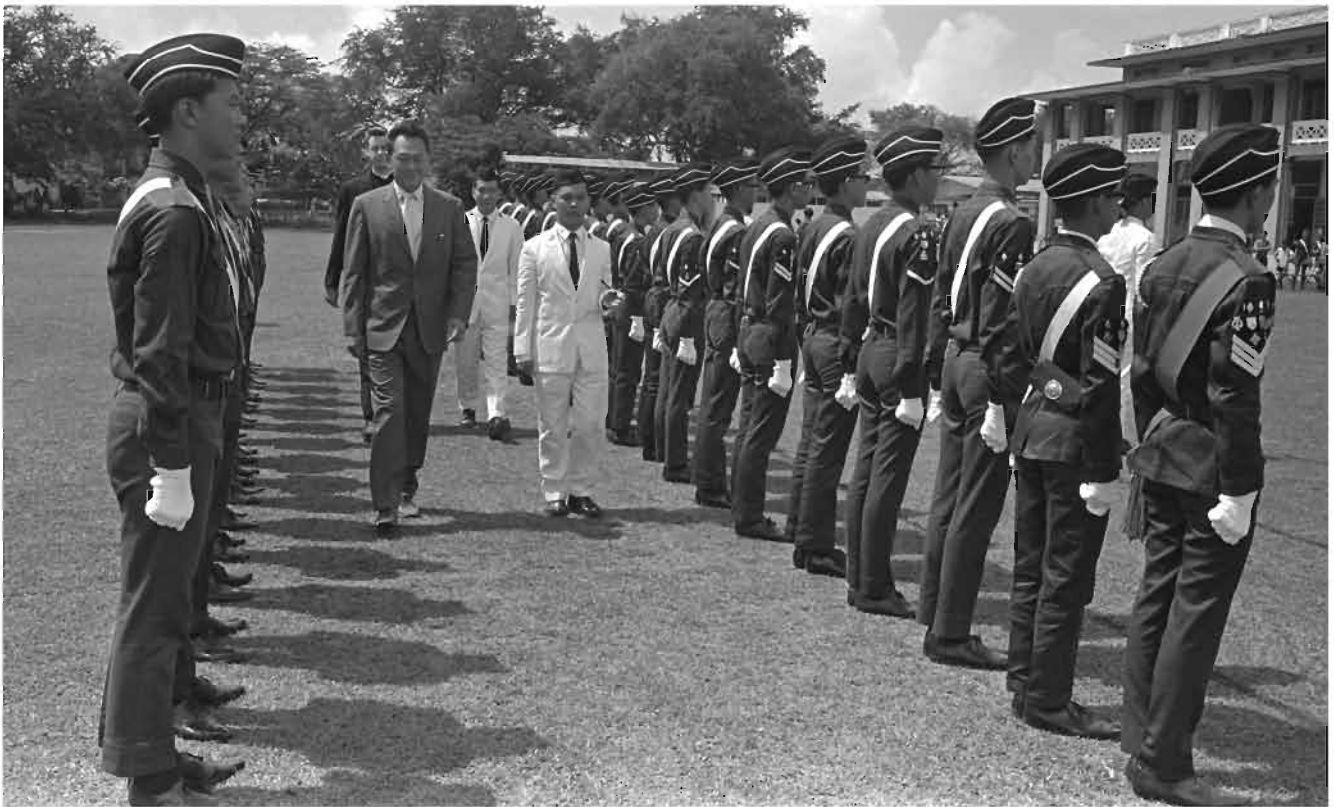
If we get frogmen coming in blowing up ships, and no ships dare to come into Singapore, they put up insurance and freight; it's a lot of trouble. These are facts we've got to face.

You know, we've had to impose a curfew on the harbour area. It's a loss of earnings to our lighter workers, to our fishermen, everybody. We don't do these things for fun. The central government is in charge of defence; we're in charge of our own harbour. If we get frogmen coming in blowing up ships, and no ships dare to come into Singapore, they put up insurance and freight; it's a lot of trouble. These are facts

submissive and meek and self-effacing survived after a fashion but without the very important quality which you have listed as one of your objectives—self-respect. You have placed it last but I am quite sure it is not the least of the human qualities necessary for a meaningful life.

If we are not to lose our self-respect, then it is our business to build up in our young the reflexes that will ensure community survival—a community with self-respect, with the discipline, with the capacity to discern its collective interests and act effectively in its defence. And it is in the young that we must place the greatest emphasis for all our efforts. For they are plastic material—young, formative and they can easily imbibe the virtues and the values which the older generation can never feel so passionately, collectively.

And so it is that over the next few years, you will see more and more in every school, in every classroom and in every school playing field, in gymnasiums, in school halls the inculcation not of the smart aleck, the boy who can perform feats of mind or of body . . . They are necessary individuals, the outstanding performers but the outstanding performer without an organised group that acts in unison, that feels [in] unison cannot accomplish anything. And whether it is your brass band, your callisthenics, your civic zeal and love for your community expressed in so many



Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew arriving at the annual review and display of the Boys' Brigade in Victoria School (© Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts).

government still allow another company manufacturing the same product, to be set up with the pioneer status which would provide healthy competition?

Prime Minister: I don't think I can answer a specific question like that. If, for instance, in a particular commodity, we feel that another one will come up and attack an export market successfully if we give them the benefits of being a pioneer industry, then I say we will be very strongly tempted to do so. But, if having held out the promise, the expectation to the first pioneer industry that we will not allow their limited market to be encroached upon by another, then it will be a complete breach of faith to do that. One of the reasons why Singapore thrived was because, so many of the merchants, both British and non-British, when they gave their word, they kept to it, and the government when it gave its undertaking, invariably honoured it. It is not because I am a self-righteous man that I favour these things. There is a reason why these policies of saying what you mean and meaning what you say have worked, and we intend that this shall continue to be so. ■

A MONUMENT TO REMEMBER LESSONS FROM THE JAPANESE INVASION

Speech at the Unveiling Ceremony of the Memorial to the Civilian Victims of the Japanese Occupation (15 February 1967)

We have come together this morning, 25 years after the Japanese capture of Singapore, to dedicate this memorial. We meet not to rekindle old fires of hatred nor to seek settlements for blood debts. We meet to remember the men and women who were the hapless victims of one of the fires of history.

This monument will remind those of us who were here 25 years ago, when the Japanese forces swept down Malaya into Singapore, of what can happen to people caught completely unaware and unprepared for what was in store for them. It will help our children understand and remember what we have to tell them of this lesson we paid so bitterly to learn.

This monument is not intended to alert us to another imminent invasion from the Japanese. For the balance of world power has altered radically in the last 25 years. And it is because it has so altered that we should be aware of the new dangers in the region, indeed, in the world. It should spur us on to pursue policies, which will cultivate for us the largest number of reliable and strong friends. We must resolve that if, in spite of every insurance, we cannot avoid being caught in a major catastrophe, then unlike the last time, we will not be unprepared for the trials and tribulations that will follow nor left prostrate and suppliant in the face of terror.



Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew attending the unveiling ceremony of the Memorial to the Civilian Victims of the Japanese Occupation (© Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts).

This piece of concrete commemorates an experience which, in spite of its horrors, serves as a catalyst in building a nation out of the young and unestablished community of diverse immigrants. We suffered together. It told us that we share a common destiny. And it is through sharing such common experiences that the feeling of living and being one community is established.

If today, as we remember these lessons of the past, we strengthen our resolve and determination to make our future more secure, then these men and women for whom we mourn would not have died in vain.

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. . . I am thankful I am in Singapore because there are very few places like this, very few places where you can sit down, the lights you switch will come on, the water will run and you are sure that there will be peace tomorrow morning when you wake up, that the world will be more or less the same.

you want him to attack. And it is training that does it, constant discipline, the effort.

And in ten years' time, as the torch passes on to the next generation, you and I, we should see that they are robust, healthy and vigorous, with a social feel, not selfish individualists, uncaring for society, understanding that without the collective effort, without the caring for one another, none of us will have a future.

But, on the whole, as I look around, I am thankful I am in Singapore because there are very few places like this, very few places where you can sit down, the lights you switch will come on, the water will run and you are sure that there will be peace tomorrow morning when you wake up, that the world will be more or less the same; that the price of rice will also be more or less the same. There are not very many such places.

I say we must use this time that we have, ten years perhaps, in which to consolidate and secure our future.



Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew speaking at the Sixth Anniversary Celebrations of Queenstown Community Centre (© Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts).